

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00 /031 W

----- 113862

P R 131755Z NOV 73

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2196

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 6050

EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS: POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS,
NOVEMBER 13, 1973 (SALT TWO - 357)

1. SUMMARY. POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS CENTERED ON SEPARATE AGREEMENTS, EQUALITY, AND NON-TRANSFER. END SUMMARY.

2. SEPARATE AGREEMENTS. WHEN EARLE NOTED THAT IN TODAY'S SOVIET STATEMENT (A-463), SEMENOV HAD USED "ALSO" IN THE CONTEXT OF SUGGESTING A SEPARATE AGREEMENT ON NON-TRANSFER, SMOLIN REFERRED TO STATEMENTS MADE BY THE SOVIET DELEGATION LAST SPRING, WHICH, HE SAID, SET FORTH ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES OF SUBJECTS WHICH MIGHT BE EMBODIED IN SEPARATE AGREEMENTS. IN HIS VIEW, THOSE WERE MERELY EXAMPLES AND NOT EVEN SUGGESTIONS.

3. IN RESPONSE TO AUSLAND'S QUESTION RE HOW MANY SEPARATE AGREEMENTS THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND (A-465), GRINEVSKY INDICATED THAT, IN ADDITION TO MIRVS AND NON-TRANSFER, THE U.S. SHOULD LOOK AT THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR RESTRAINT MADE IN THE SPRING. GRINEVSKY GAVE AS AN EXAMPLE AN AGREEMENT NOT TO DEVELOP INTERCONTINENTAL CRUISE MISSILES. WHEN AUSLAND ASKED IF SOVIETS HAD IN MIND ALSO U.S. CENTRAL SYSTEMS, GRINEVSKY REPLIED "IF THE U.S. WISHES TO INCLUDE

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THEM." AUSLAND SAID HE WAS NOT SUGGESTING ANYTHING BUT ONLY

TRYING TO FIND OUT WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD IN MIND. GRINEVSKY REFERRED AGAIN TO THE SOVIET PROPOSALS IN THE SPRING.

4. EQUALITY. SMOLIN (TO EARLE, A-463) MENTIONED AN EARLIER DISCUSSION RE AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT THAT ANY PERMANENT AGREEMENT MUST BE EQUAL IN APPEARANCE AS WELL AS FACT (A-453). WHEN HE ASKED FOR A FURTHER EXPLANATION OF WHAT WAS INTENDED BY U.S. INTRODUCTION OF THE CONCEPT OF "APPEARANCE," EARLE REPEATED HIS EXPLANATION GIVEN AT THE LAST MEETING. SMOLIN SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD AND ASKED WHETHER THE U.S. PROPOSAL OF EQUAL AGGREGATES, REITERATED LAST WEEK, REPRESENTED THE U.S. DESIRE FOR APPEARANCE OF EQUALITY OR WHETHER IT HAD AN ENTIRELY DIFFERENT SIGNIFICANCE. EARLE REPLIED THAT THE PROPOSAL OBVIOUSLY HAD SIGNIFICANCE OF A SUBSTANTIVE NATURE; EQUAL AGGREGATES CONTRIBUTED TO THE APPEARANCE OF EQUALITY BUT BY THEMSELVES THEY WOULD PROBABLY NOT SATISFY THAT CRITERION IN TOTO. THIS, EARLE SAID, WOULD CERTAINLY BE THE CASE IF OTHER PORTIONS OF THE AGREEMENT WERE TO APPEAR UNEQUAL. SMOLIN INDICATED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD, ADDING THAT HE NOW REALIZED THAT THE APPEARANCE OF EQUALITY MIGHT WELL BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN ANY AGREEMENT.

5. NON-TRANSFER. SMOLIN (TO IFFT, A-464) CALLED ATTENTION TO SECTION OF TODAY'S SOVIET STATEMENT DEALING WITH NON-TRANSFER. HE SAID THAT IT HAD NOT BEEN DRAFTED AS CAREFULLY AS IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN, WITH THE RESULT THAT IT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED TO MEAN THAT "SPECIALLY CREATED" APPLIES TO WARHEADS (BOYEPRIPASY). THIS, HE SAID, WOULD REPRESENT A CHANGE IN THE MEANING OF ARTICLE XIV OF THE SOVIET OCTOBER 9 DRAFT; ANY SUCH CHANGE WAS NOT INTENDED. JOHNSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: martinjw
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973SALTT06050
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731135/aaaaazvi.tel
Line Count: 92
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 2
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: martinjw
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31-Jan-2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2002 by martinjw>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HIGHLIGHTS: POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS, NOVEMBER 13, 1973 (SALT TWO - 357)
TAGS: PARM
To: SECSTATE WASHDC WASHDC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005